

June 8, 1946

AMERICA

The President And Strikes

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

Bor of Warsaw

AN EDITORIAL

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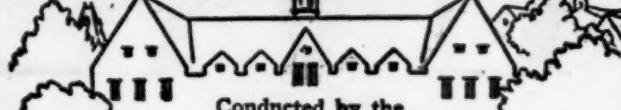
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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Settlement in Coal. Terms of the agreement between the United States Government and the United Mine Workers, signed finally on May 29, are closer to John L. Lewis' original demands than they are to the concessions the coal operators were willing to give. Secretary of the Interior, J. A. Krug, who signed for Uncle Sam, agreed that the provisions of the Federal Mining Safety Code would be followed throughout the industry and that the miners would receive their social-security demands, although not exactly in the shape Mr. Lewis wanted. He also conceded that the Government would follow whatever policy on the organization of supervisory employees was determined by the National Labor Relations Board. The wage increase granted—18½ cents an hour—which conforms to the reconversion pattern, had been offered by the operators. Under the contract, two distinct welfare funds are established: one financed by deductions from the miners' wages and administered solely by the union; the other raised by a five-cent-a-ton levy and managed by a board of three trustees. The United Mine Workers will name one trustee, management another, and the third will be chosen jointly. To this contract the coal operators are not a party, and it may be a good long time before some of them sign up and reclaim their properties. And so peace of a sort has descended on the coal fields—but not on all of them; for on Memorial Day the anthracite mines were struck. Mr. Lewis is holding out there for the same terms he got from Uncle Sam.

German Vote. Final results of the elections in the American zone in Germany closely followed the pattern previously established in Austria and Hungary. Parties committed to the fundamental liberties of the Western world were overwhelmingly victorious; the totalitarian slavery spawned by the Kremlin was just as crushingly rejected. Almost complete returns from the thirty-seven large cities which elected municipal councils on Sunday, May 26, show that the Christian Democrats won 484 seats and the Social Democrats 421. The Communists were a bad third with only 47 seats, and smaller parties gathered 73. Should the trend established in these elections persist if and when a poll is held on a national basis, the future of democracy in Germany will depend on whether the Socialists and Christian Democrats can effect a working alliance. While there are few economic and political obstacles in the way of such an agreement, serious moral and social differences do exist and cannot be compromised. As in France and Italy, the hope of the future in Germany appears to lie in the willingness of Socialists to abandon the anti-religious attitudes of a faded past. Since neither the Socialists nor the Christian Democrats seem strong enough to rule alone, the alternative is a Socialist-Communist coalition which would doom not merely democratic socialism but democracy all over Europe. The action of the Berlin Socialists, who rejected a union with the Communists some weeks ago, furnishes ground for hope that when the chips are down they will not sacrifice liberty on the altar of stale religious prejudice.

Czecho-Slovak Vote. At first glance the returns in the general election in Czecho-Slovakia, which took place a week ago Sunday, do not conform with the pattern established elsewhere in Europe. There the Communists, as in France also, emerged as the strongest single party, winning 114

seats in the new national Assembly. However, an analysis of the vote shows that the Communists and Socialists together outdistanced their opponents by less than one per cent of the total vote and will have a majority of only five or six in the Assembly. In Slovakia the Democrats, a party which includes the bulk of the Catholic and the Agrarian vote, obtained 62 per cent of the ballots, easily outdistancing the Communists. This will have an important bearing on the policies of the future government, since Slovak representatives have the right to declare inoperative in their territory any law passed by the Assembly. The Communists and their uneasy allies, the Social Democrats, will have to proceed with unaccustomed moderation. Although the Soviet Government was said not to have interfered directly with the elections, indirect Soviet pressure was always present and no doubt influenced the result. The Communists will be offered the Premiership but may decide to go along with the present Premier, Zdenek Fierlinger, who, unlike his Socialist colleagues in other countries, seems willing to knuckle under to Moscow. Perhaps, geography being what it is, he hasn't much choice.

Super-Seniority Out. Any lingering hope of setting veterans against organized labor, which only a small minority of anti-union employers ever nourished anyhow, was completely destroyed last week by the United States Supreme Court. Ruling in the test case of one Abraham Fishgold, who claimed super-seniority rights to his job at the Sullivan Drydock and Repair Corporation, in Brooklyn, the Court held by a six-to-one majority that a re-employed veteran was bound by the provisions of collective-bargaining agreements and might be laid off while non-veterans with greater seniority kept their jobs. Discussing the re-employment pro-

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vision of the Selective Service Act, Justice Douglas, who wrote the majority opinion, held that it guarantees the veteran only against "loss of position or loss of seniority by reason of his absence." He maintained that to grant a veteran, as Selective Service Director Hershey wanted to do, "an increase in seniority over what he would have had if he had never entered the armed services" would require distortion of the language of the Act and be contrary to the intention of Congress. We believe that it would be a mistake to regard this decision as unfavorable to veterans. As we pointed out at the time the issue was first raised, veterans would have more to lose from any weakening of the seniority clauses in labor contracts than they could possibly gain from super-seniority. For super-seniority, with its temporary benefits, would have dealt a grievous blow to the entire seniority system in American industry.

School-Lunch Bill. Many a controversy has divided the Senate and the House over the National School Lunch Act. Introduced in the House (H.R. 3370) by Representative Flannagan of Virginia and in the Senate by Senators Russell of Georgia and Ellender of Louisiana, the bill had two titles, one authorizing annual appropriations in the Department of Agriculture to aid in supplying free lunches for school children of elementary and high-school age, the second authorizing annual appropriations of \$15 million for lunch-room equipment, training of personnel, nutrition-education programs, etc. On February 21, by a vote of 275 to 101, the House passed Title I, providing annual Federal aid of \$50 million, but rejected Title II. Then the Senate, on February 26, voted favorably on both titles and raised the appropriation under Title I to \$100 million. These differences brought into being a conference committee of House and Senate to seek a compromise. Out of the conference committee has now come a bill which it is believed will be acceptable to both houses of Congress. The Act is an excellent piece of legislation that will be a boon to all school children of the nation. It extends the benefits under both titles to public and non-public school children alike and requires equitable distribution of funds in States which maintain separate schools for children of minority races. There is every reason to expect that Congress will give speedy approval to this "conference draft" of the National School Lunch Act. The House passed it and sent it to the Senate for action on May 23.

Public Opinion and the Health Bill. A recent Gallup poll, after recording the fact that persons questioned are by no means unanimous as to the best way of improving health service, summarized the findings thus:

1. The general public has not yet become familiar with the Wagner-Murray-Dingell medical-insurance bill. Fewer than four in every ten persons polled said they had heard or read about it.
2. The typical American family estimates that it

spent about \$50 last year to cover all doctor, dental and hospital bills.

3. The majority say they would not be willing to pay any more for medical insurance than they now pay in doctor and hospital bills, and about half say they would not be willing to pay as much.

4. Opinion is about evenly divided on whether people would get better medical care than they are now getting if the Government took over the job of administering a health-insurance program.

While the results of polls, such as the one mentioned, provide no conclusive judgment on the respective merits of proposed pre-payment schemes, they certainly point out trends in the average citizen's thinking. This is so, even if some professional minds—either of the public-medicine or ultra-conservative mold—are unwilling to agree. It can be safely said that Americans today: 1) are generally dissatisfied with the slow progress and the obstructionism of certain doctors; 2) are well aware that the Government must do something about the situation; 3) are still undecided as to whether they want government participation in a health program to go as far as social insurance for health costs; 4) have few ideas on the further question of government or complete public medicine, except where they have been led by propaganda to identify this with health insurance.

Food Still Needed. After the high tide of alarm over European starvation and the summoning up of our every effort to meet the dread challenge, it would seem that interest is waning. This is due, no doubt, to our innate American optimism as well as to the difficulty we have to make real to ourselves the fantastic fact that millions were and still are tragically underfed. To stimulate still more this unreal optimism comes the good news from Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that the Government has now collected enough grain to meet its export commitments. The only hitch, he stated, was to obtain enough shipping to transport a record 400,000,000 bushels of grain overseas by July 1. Another bright gleam lightens up the scene in the report from Austria that the worst point in the food crisis has been passed. Under the fine leadership of Gen. Mark W. Clark, surpluses gathered had tided over a desperate interim period and, under the present schedule of UNRRA, it seems likely that a 1,200-calory goal will be reached in June. The level had been 900 calories. But in face of this good news, we cannot for a minute afford to forget that 1,200 calories is still technically a starvation level; anything below 2,000 calories constitutes a serious deficiency level, resulting in malnutrition and all its disastrous long-range effects. In view of this stark fact, too easily forgotten, it is indeed good news to get the Post Office's announcement that, effective June 1, gift parcels will be accepted for delivery to the United States zone in Germany. An eleven-pound parcel may be sent once a week by the same sender to the same addressee. This will enable thousands of Americans to help relieve their friends and relatives from an incubus of persistent hunger that we 3,200-calory-a-day Americans find it hard to imagine.

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Our Own Displaced Persons. The ill-considered haste with which we manhandled Japanese residents, particularly on our West Coast, was a disgraceful blot on our record of regard for civil liberties and, though belatedly rectified, still leaves an embarrassing residue of injustice. There are about 2,000 Japanese who came to this country under commercial treaty; the treaty was abrogated by the United States in January, 1940. These Japanese are not citizens; moreover, they are members of a race ineligible for naturalization. But

many of them have spent many years as worthy Americans, have aided this country in the war, have given sons and daughters to its armed forces. Further, for these reasons they fear reprisals from Japanese diehards if they are deported. In view of all these circumstances, it seems that they fall rather exactly into the category of displaced persons and have every right to that consideration which Secretary of State James F. Byrnes has promised to the D. P.'s in American-occupied zones—namely, that they will not be forced back to their native land against their will. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, which must work for their deportation under present laws, should act energetically and quickly for the drafting of emergency legislation to enable them to remain.

WASHINGTON FRONT

IT IS NOT SURE at this writing that anybody connected with the broken railroad strike came out of it with any credit. I said last week that the Railroad Brotherhoods had nullified the Railway Labor Act; I meant, of course, only the two Brotherhoods whose heads finally came to grips with the President himself. The other railroad unions were not at all satisfied with the way Mr. Whitney handled things. A high official in one of them said to me: "Whitney went off the reservation."

This same official was inclined to blame the Railway Mediation Board for the trouble. It handled the whole thing very badly in its early stages months ago, and the appeal panel which it chose to make an award was inept, to say the least. Meanwhile, the President and his advisors were blissfully unaware of the trouble ahead, with the exception perhaps of Secretary Schwellenbach, whose advice was not heeded. Then, when the five-day truce was declared, the railwaymen had the impression that the President had secured a favorable compromise and, when it turned out that he had not, they were so angry that Mr. Whitney had no course open but to strike.

Meanwhile, although the soft-coal strike has been settled, the strike in anthracite has just begun.

Apart from mistakes and crises due to mistakes, the railroad and coal situation has raised in the minds of thoughtful observers a whole series of questions. Have industries like coal, railroads, oil and such, which have a direct connection with the public as a whole, a different status from that of private industries? If so, should there be a different set of laws for them? May government take them over whenever their workers threaten a strike?

If the answer to these questions is yes, then isn't that a sign that this type of industry really by right belongs to the people as a whole, and should be run by it through its government? In other words, aren't these what Pius XI had in mind when he said that there were some industries so closely connected with the common good that they should be subject to public ownership? And isn't this what those who applauded President Truman for his request for restrictive power over such industries really have in mind? I do not mean consciously; but doesn't it, in fact, really come to that?

These questions, and others like them, will be asked more and more as the smoke of battle clears away. In the opinion of this observer they are necessary questions, and inevitable ones. When the answers are forthcoming, the whole question of the right to strike against the public good must be re-examined.

WILFRID PARSONS

Voice from the Argentine. Bishop Miguel de Andrea, Titular of Temnos, recently accepted an honorary degree from the National University of Buenos Aires. He took the occasion to repudiate dictatorship—civil, military or proletarian. Between the "anarchy" of individualism and the excessive centralization proper to dictatorship stands the middle road of genuine democracy. "No doctrine so enhances as does Christianity the dignity of the governed, nor so guarantees the authority of those who govern," he said. Only the proper concept of authority can save us from extremes. "If there ever was a time in history when it was necessary to bring about a realization of the true doctrine of the origin of power, it is ours." Both Christian doctrine and genuine democratic theory favor this stand.

UNDERSCORINGS

THE CHURCH IN CHINA, according to an announcement by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, will soon have a fully constituted hierarchy for its four million Catholics. Cardinal Tien, China's first member of the College of Cardinals, will become Archbishop of Peking. Replacing the missionary vicariates apostolic will be twenty ecclesiastical provinces comprising seventy-nine dioceses. There are 5,005 priests in China, of whom 2,008 are Chinese; 1,262 Brothers, including 677 natives; 6,133 nuns, more than half of whom are Chinese. Seminarians number 6,154, catechists 11,407 and teachers 13,403.

► Pope Pius XII's message last October to the women of Italy on their duties in social and political life today was inspiration for initiating the "Schools of Apostolate," which the Grail, Loveland, Ohio, is conducting this summer in seven dioceses as well as at Grail headquarters. The aim of the schools is to present to young women the spiritual needs of their world, to prepare them for serving these needs and to help them plan organized lay action in their own surroundings. The schools will be conducted at Richmond, Va., June 11-16; Raleigh, N. C., June 21-26; Indianapolis, June 30-July 3; Fargo, N. D., June 29-July 5; Lafayette, La., July 9-14; Philadelphia, Aug. 5-11; and Toledo, Aug. 26-Sept. 1. The courses at Grailville, Ohio, will run from June 12 through September 15.

► The bronze bust of Booker T. Washington, which was placed in the Hall of Fame of New York University on May 25, was the work of Richmond Barthé, outstanding Catholic Negro sculptor. Mr. Barthé, who comes from the Josephite Fathers' parish in New Orleans, Louisiana, received the Hoey award in 1945 for his notable contribution to interracial justice.

► At the final session of its thirty-fifth annual convention, May 23-26, at Boston, the Catholic Press Association chose Humphrey E. Desmond of the *Catholic Herald Citizen*, Milwaukee, to be its president for 1947. A first meeting of Catholic editors, in 1893, attracted thirty-five representatives. An American Catholic Press Association was founded in Cincinnati in 1908, followed by the CPA in 1911. Today the CPA represents 215 Catholic newspapers and magazines.

► The fifth annual Liturgical Week-End for Catholic men, June 21-24, will be under the direction of Dom Hugh Duffy, O.S.B., at the Benedictine Monastery, Delbarton, Morristown, N. J. The daily schedule for the week-end includes a high Mass, recitation of the Divine Office in common, spiritual conferences and round-table discussions on the liturgy.

A.P.F.

The President and Strikes

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

ON TUESDAY, May 21, four days before the end of a two-weeks' truce in the dispute between John L. Lewis and the coal operators, the Government seized the coal mines.

Two days later, following an almost contemptuous rejection of a special offer by President Truman, and despite the fact that the Government had taken over the railroads, the locomotive engineers and the railroad trainmen began a nation-wide walkout. Within twenty-four hours the country was paralyzed.

These dread events brought to a head a crisis in industrial relations which had already mortgaged the nation's future and endangered peace and liberty throughout the world. Save for the tragic days of the Civil War and perhaps the beginning of the first administration of Franklin Roosevelt, no President of the United States had been confronted with such a deadly challenge to the national community as faced President Truman. However much the prospect may have frightened him, he had to act. The rail strike had to be broken.

On Friday night, May 24, he stepped to a microphone and announced to listening millions that their Government was being "challenged as seldom before in history." Referring by name to Alvanley Johnson, head of the locomotive engineers, and A. F. Whitney, leader of the trainmen, he said: "It is inconceivable that in our democracy any two men should be placed in a position where they can completely stifle our economy and ultimately destroy our country." He declared himself a friend of labor—as, indeed, he has been—but he warned that if the workers did not return to their jobs by four o'clock the following afternoon, he would operate the trains "by using every means within my power."

The next afternoon, before a cheering joint session of Congress, President Truman asked for drastic legislation to deal with strikes. Shortly before the finish of his grim and militant talk, Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary of the Senate, handed him a small slip of paper. In decisive tones the President read: "Word has just been received that the rail strike has been settled on terms proposed by the President." From the Representatives and Senators, from tense and crowded galleries, he received an ovation.

Mr. Truman had broken the rail strike.

But the rail strike was only the worst and most urgent of the President's headaches. The coal strike was still unsettled and a maritime strike, not without ominous political overtones, had been called for June 15. Meanwhile, as production slowed down, inflationary pressures continued to increase and the flow of shipments abroad was seriously interrupted. Only steady work, the President knew, during the next six or nine months could save the nation and the world from an unparalleled disaster. The rail strike was over, but how was he going to deal with John L. Lewis and the pro-Communist leaders of the CIO maritime unions?

Mr. Truman asked the Congress for legislation, but he distinguished sharply between the immediate emergency and the long pull ahead. With respect to the latter, he recommended that Congress create a joint committee to make a thorough study of industrial relations as the basis for permanent legislation. This legislation should be "fair to labor and to industry and to the public at large." To deal with the present crisis, he called for an admittedly drastic

law designed to stop what he called "strikes against the government." Thus began one of the most fateful and historic debates in the nation's history.

The legislation requested by the President would be strictly limited both as to duration and to coverage. Written to expire six months after the official end of World War II, the law would apply solely "to those few industries in which the President by proclamation declares that an emergency has arisen which affects the entire economy of the United States," and it would apply to them only after the Government had seized the properties. In such circumstances, the President would be empowered to take the following measures:

1. Authorize injunctive proceedings against union officials, forbidding them to encourage workers to leave their jobs or to refuse to return to work. Failure to observe the injunction would expose the officials to contempt proceedings.
2. Deprive workers who strike against the Government of their seniority rights and their status of employes under the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act.
3. Provide criminal penalties (fine of not more than \$5,000 and imprisonment for not more than one year, or both) for employers and workers who violate the law by encouraging or participating in a strike or lockout or slowdown.
4. Designate arbitrators or otherwise establish fair wages and conditions of employment.
5. Induct into the Army of the U. S. employes and officials of the Government-seized business, as well as leaders of the organizations representing the employes, who fail to return to work, without permission, within twenty-four hours after the deadline set by the President.
6. Cover into the Treasury of the U. S. any net profit accruing from Government operation of the business.

Obviously, no law affecting industrial relations has ever been passed in this country, in peace or war, which matches in severity the language of this bill. Under its terms the President becomes the virtual dictator of American industry. While in theory the law would have a restricted coverage, applying, as was said above, only "to those few industries in which the President by proclamation declares that an emergency has arisen which affects the entire economy of the United States," in practice the President has sole power to determine what these industries are. Certainly they include steel, rail and sea transportation, and coal mining, but even such a mild and undictatorial character as President Truman might easily be led to apply the law to a half-dozen other industries.

In all these industries, the President, should he deem that an emergency exists, would have the power to dictate the terms of the labor-contract, to appropriate profits, to force labor and management, under military discipline if necessary, to work against their will. Such powers resemble the totalitarian authority of a fascist or communist state. While they would not necessarily lead to the socialization of property or to a political dictatorship—the good sense of labor and management could render their use unnecessary, and, if used, they could be applied reasonably—they are nevertheless a clear break with our democratic traditions.

This does not mean, however, that in the present unprecedented situation, and for a strictly limited period, a grant of such powers may not be necessary and justified. That Mr. Truman's action had widespread public approval appeared from the spontaneous response to his address on the night of May 24, as well as from the action of the House which passed the recommended legislation by an overwhelming majority, within two hours after the President's appeal.

The American people are among the most democratic on earth. They have a traditional, almost anarchic, aversion to compulsions of any kind, but especially to governmental compulsions. Yet the gravity of the present crisis is such that they seem willing to submit temporarily even to dictatorial controls. While no one can place his finger on the pulse of America and give anything like an infallible report, it is my impression that the majority of our people are solidly behind the President in the courageous course he has chosen; the action of the Senate, where strong opposition to Mr. Truman's proposals has developed, to the contrary notwithstanding. Sensing a peril to the community, they want it made clear that no private group, whether of workers or employers, is bigger than the Government of the United States.

Three weeks ago, discussing the crisis in industrial relations, the present writer said in these pages:

The stoppages in the production of autos and electrical goods, of steel and of coal, have done irreparable harm to the nation's reconversion program. They constitute a deadly breakdown in industrial relations, the kind of breakdown which no government in the world can afford to ignore. Indeed, they provide sufficient excuse, if excuse is wanted, for government seizure and operation.

And I went on to appeal to the leaders of labor and management to stop slugging it out, warning them, that "the American economy is punch-drunk and reeling," and that "it cannot absorb many more blows like the coal strike without going down for the count."

Some readers wrote in to say that this was a pretty sour view of the situation, that the crisis had been exaggerated, and that with a little patience everything would come out all right. Whether they still think that way, I do not know, but if the stoppage in coal, the two-day rail strike and the dramatic events of May 25 and 26 have not yet opened their eyes to the magnitude of the present disaster, nothing anybody can say will convince them. Only the start of the national maritime strike on June 15 would do that.

So far, the chief opposition to President Truman's plan of action has come from three widely dissimilar groups: from organized labor and its friends; from prominent Republicans and others who have been advocating restrictive labor legislation; from the Communist Party and its conglomerate collection of stooges and innocents. With respect to the latter, no comment is necessary. Normal Americans will give no credence to the idea that President Truman, dragged along by Wall Street and the monopolists, is hell bent on war-breeding imperialism abroad and fascism at home, which is what the *Daily Worker* is fantastically charging.

With the rest of the opposition it is easy to sympathize since no one really *likes* the Truman proposal, not even its author, and it certainly has its dangers, as has been pointed out above. However, not all the arguments against it are valid or devoid of politics. Without in any way questioning the sincerity of men like Senator Taft and Minnesota's former Governor Harold E. Stassen, it happens to be excellent politics for Republicans to oppose President Truman on the ground that his plan is too harsh toward organized

labor. As a canny and anonymous Congressman said, following the President's address to Congress: "The public quickly forgets, but labor has a long memory."

Some of the arguments against the proposed legislation assume that the right to strike is absolute and that to abridge it in any way is undemocratic and an injustice to organized labor. This is most assuredly not true. Moralists unanimously teach that certain conditions must be fulfilled before any strike can be considered legitimate, one of which is of the utmost importance right now. The failure of some labor leaders to meet it constitutes the whole justification for President Truman's position. It is this: the good results which are expected from a strike must be proportioned to the evils which it causes. If, therefore, a strike brings evils, even though not intended, which are greater than any possible good the union hopes to achieve, the strike is immoral and the workers have an obligation to stay on the job, even if this involves a temporary injustice. In the present parlous state of national and international affairs, President Truman is taking the stand that no possible gains to the workers can match the evils to the country and the world resulting from a nationwide stoppage in coal-mining and rail and sea transportation. The burden of proof is on those who think otherwise.

A second argument, equally dubious, against the President's proposal is that it would force involuntary servitude of labor. If there was any question of forcing men to work for a private employer, as was the case with the labor draft advocated by the late President Roosevelt during the war, this argument would be convincing. But such a supposition has no validity in the present case. None of the Presidential powers enumerated in the bill passed by the House would become operative until the Government had seized the business. The workers would be employees of the Government and, if they refused to work, they would be striking against the Government. If it is not involuntary servitude to draft men to fight, or to be trained to fight, I do not see that it is involuntary servitude to draft them to run locomotives or mine coal for the Government during a national emergency.

The other chief arguments against the House-approved bill stress its alleged impracticability and the threat to organized labor. At one and the same time, the bill is said to be so inept that it cannot be enforced and so dangerous that its enforcement would destroy organized labor! Both contentions seem exaggerated.

As these lines are being written, word comes that the coal strike has been settled, that the Senate has rejected the draft clause in the anti-strike bill, that the House has passed the Senate version of the Case bill. All this adds up to a very muddled situation, the outcome of which cannot be foreseen.

With so many professionals predicting dire consequences for Mr. Truman, an amateur ought to maintain silence. After all, who would have the hardihood to suggest that such queer bedfellows as Senators Taft and Pepper, the *Daily Worker* and the *Wall Street Journal*, could possibly be wrong? But I should like humbly to suggest that of all the actors in last week's drama, President Truman stood head and shoulders above the rest. Regardless of the wisdom and the fate of his legislative proposal, he faced and broke a threat which gravely menaced the general welfare. And what delicious irony it will be—and how embarrassing to certain intemperate union leaders—if a Presidential veto saves organized labor from the crippling effects of the Case bill, a much more dangerous proposition than the purely temporary law Mr. Truman wanted.

WE NEED A POLICY FOR GERMANY

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

FOR SOME TIME NOW it has become painfully clear that the future of human liberty and political freedom has not been made secure by military victory. The struggle for genuine and sincere democracy continues. The dramatics of the open meetings of the United Nations Security Council should not divert our attention from the field where the really significant long-range decisions on the shape of future politics are made. The survival of democracy is not a matter of diplomatic maneuvers or of the allocation of strategic and economic strong-points. The fight for democracy will be won or lost by the people themselves, as they are confronted on the one side with new and persistent threats of communistic totalitarianism and on the other with unsolved political and economic problems.

At present the center of this conflict is in Germany. In that devastated country developments have advanced much farther than in France or in Italy. In the Russian-occupied zone, which comprises half of Germany, the first objective of the communist strategy has already been reached. The Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party in the Russian zone have decided to "merge." They have formed a new political unit, the "Socialist Union Party."

COMMUNIST TECHNIQUE

It is highly significant that this new political group could come into being in the Russian zone despite the courageous resistance put up by the Social Democratic delegates of the various districts of Berlin and by the registered Party members themselves, who voted overwhelmingly against a fusion with the Communists wherever they had opportunity to do so. The vote was taken only in the American, British and French zones of Berlin. It was not carried out in the Russian zone. There the merger was effected by influencing, in the usual totalitarian manner, a sufficiently large number of members of the executive committees of local party organizations. As a consequence, a majority of Social Democratic delegates from cities and counties, with the exception of that part of Berlin which is occupied by the Western Powers, voted in favor of the new Socialist Union Party, dominated by Communists.

Spokesmen for the occupation authorities of the Western Powers have declared they will not recognize the new Socialist Union Party in their respective zones. As a result, the Social Democratic Party will continue to function in the western part of Berlin and generally in the American, British and French zones of Germany. Thus we are witnessing the emergence of rival political factions in Germany—one, the old Social Democratic Party, backed up by the Western Powers and standing for democracy as we know it, and the other, the new Socialist Union Party, sponsored by the Russians and representing the usual anti-fascist front which has become a familiar device of communist manipulation.

It should be noted that the merger of the Socialists and Communists in the Russian zone does not concern immediately the two other political parties which are "licensed" in Germany, the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democrats. For the time being, at least, they continue to function even in the Russian zone, although last winter the Russians went so far as to force the resignation of Dr. Hermes, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, on the ground that he no longer enjoyed the confidence of

Marshal Zhukov. So far as these two parties are concerned, however, the next phase of the Russian plan is clearly indicated. Sooner or later they will be asked to form some sort of a united front with the Socialist Union Party. The political pattern of the Russian zone of Germany would then have been brought in line with that of Poland, Bulgaria and other satellite countries.

At the moment we have not yet reached this final phase. There is still time to stop the trend. But, to succeed, it is necessary to assess soberly and realistically the total situation as it exists today in Germany. This we will try to do. We shall see that there is nothing in the present conditions in Germany which entitles us to take an optimistic view of the chances for genuine democratic reconstruction. Although an overwhelming majority of Germans do not want communism, the Russian scheme of imposing bolshevist control may succeed.

BACKGROUND HISTORY

The present bid of Communists for power in Germany is in reality their second try. Their first attempt was made immediately after the breakdown of the German Empire in 1918. In the final days of the First World War some sort of a German Soviet system had sprung up. "Workers and Soldiers Councils" established themselves everywhere and claimed supreme authority. The Spartacists, a small but determined group of revolutionaries which later constituted itself the German Communist Party, demanded the establishment of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." This system was to function through workers' councils on various levels. However, the overwhelming majority of workers' delegates themselves, led by the Social Democrats, rejected this plan of class and party dictatorship. They called instead for the election of a constitutional convention to draft a new democratic constitution in which all people, not merely the workers of "brawn and brain," were admitted to the ballot.

The election returns of January 19, 1919, showed that the advocates of proletarian dictatorship in Germany were in a hopeless minority. Thus a democratic solution was made possible. In all fairness, most of the credit for this favorable outcome must go to the Socialist leaders' loyalty to democratic ideals and processes. They were big enough to reject a short-cut to socialism through dictatorship, because they did not want to violate the principles of a true democracy respecting the will of the majority and the rights of the minority. Once the constitutional convention started to function in Weimar, the Center Party joined with the Social Democrats in laying the foundations of a democratic state in Germany. This is not the place to discuss the many reasons why that republic was unable to withstand the pressure which was to be exerted against it by Hitler. One thing, however, is a matter of indisputable historical record: once the democratic forces of the Social Democrats and the Center Party had joined, as was the case in 1919, all communist hope of achieving domination in Germany had vanished. Hitler's claim that only his coming to power prevented Germany's turn to communism was patently untrue—a fact which did not hinder the repetition of this Nazi propaganda by certain people on this side of the ocean who should have examined their sources of information more carefully.

If the Communists stand a much better chance of succeeding today where they failed only a quarter-century ago, this is not the fault of the German people. Wherever elections have been held it is interesting to note that, once the layer of nazism was removed, the traditional political structure of the German people again emerged. It seems that there has been not even a substantial shift in the relative

strength of the old-time political parties. If we consider the country as a whole, Communists are not even close to having a majority.

But the fact that Communists can nevertheless look forward now with much greater hope than they could in 1919 is not merely the result of the great increase in the military and political power of Russia. This alone would not suffice to swing the balance in favor of the German Communists. The difficulty in which German democrats find themselves today is precisely that it is no longer possible to speak of "the country as a whole." The Potsdam decisions split Germany into four compartments, each administered by a different Power. Even if the central technical agencies of which the Potsdam agreement speaks were to be set up tomorrow, they could not prevent the centrifugal tendencies created by the fact that the four occupying Powers can do pretty much what they please politically in their respective zones. All four Powers, of course, take advantage of this situation.

Thus the future of democracy in Germany becomes linked up not so much with the desires of the German people as with the success or failure of the occupation policies in the various zones. In a situation so desperate as that of Germany today, the intentions and ideologies of rulers are less important to the people than their practical achievements. We must compare the Russian zone in Germany with the others in terms of food supplies, the pursuit of definite social and political objectives and the use of propaganda techniques, if we wish to evaluate the chances of democracy as we know it.

COMMUNIST ADVANTAGE

The main advantage of the Communists over the Western Powers is that the Russian zone is that part of Germany which has always produced the greatest proportion of grain, potatoes and sugar. As a result, the basic food ration in the Russian zone today is around 1,550 calories, whereas it is substantially less in the American and British zones. This situation was predictable with almost mathematical precision, once the demarcation lines of the zones of occupation were drawn and the American Government had consented to the disestablishment of the government of the German Reich, with the idea that it could be replaced in fact and function by an Allied control commission. Dedicated to the theory that democracy should be built from the bottom up, the Americans agreed to disrupt the continuity of German government, thereby setting the stage for the formation of zones very unequally endowed with food and other resources. The Russians have by far the most favorably endowed sphere. They have the vast agricultural areas of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and the province of Saxony. In addition, they have the highly industrialized regions of the State of Saxony and of Greater Berlin. Thus the Russians have a fairly balanced zone, whereas the British are loaded down with the Ruhr district and Hamburg as well as other areas of extreme density of population, which are not supported by an adequate agricultural hinterland. Conditions in the American and French zones are only slightly better.

It would be naive in the extreme to assume that the Communists would not avail themselves of these discrepancies for the purpose of political propaganda. The situation is not alleviated by the fact that the American military government in Germany, through no fault of its own, was not in position to maintain the 1,500-calory level it had underwritten last fall. In recent weeks great efforts have been made to bring home to the American people the ravages and dangers of the famine conditions prevailing in many parts of the world, including Germany. We should now be in a posi-

tion to appreciate better the tremendous difference between a 1,500-calory diet and a 1,000-calory diet. It is most unfortunate that this difference is injected into the momentous struggle between democracy and totalitarianism in Germany —to the disadvantage of the former.

The situation is not improved when we consider the matter of political objectives. The Western approach to these problems has been negative. It is symbolized by such terms as "de-nazification" and "de-industrialization." Above and beyond that, the only positive plan so far has been to "re-educate" the German people in the western zones to democratic procedures, such as voting, writing of letters to the editors of newspapers licensed by the occupation authorities and the reorganization of trade unions. Democratic techniques are meaningless, however, unless they can be employed toward tangible objectives. Otherwise they remain on the purely mechanical level. Let us examine how this policy of negative aims, coupled with the re-introduction of some democratic devices, is operating in the western zones with regard to trade unions.

American occupational authorities take great pride in the fact that they have "permitted" the re-establishment of trade unions. It is the purpose of trade unions to represent the demands of labor, to fight for better conditions of work and to improve standards of living. But these standards have been rigidly fixed by the Potsdam Conference. In addition, basic production quotas have been determined by Allied officials. Thus the German economy is to be held down by economic and other devices to a certain minimum level. It is not my present purpose to take issue with these decisions. However, it is necessary to point to the shallowness and superficiality of a political approach to democracy which, on the one hand, re-establishes trade unions and, on the other, makes it impossible for these unions to carry out their real purposes. Unions are senseless in an economy which is not allowed to progress. We criticize the Russian type of trade unionism, and justly, for not being a free organization of workers, but merely another device of totalitarian control over the masses. But let us place ourselves in the shoes of a propagandist for western democracy in Germany trying to make this point. Just how free are trade unions in the western zone if they have to abide by the low-production and low-wage formula set up at Potsdam? Is there really a great difference between these unions and the labor organizations of a modern dictatorship? Surely the re-establishment of trade unions, Western style, will not be a great selling point for democracy under such circumstances.

NEEDED: A PLAN

We have said that the basic difference between the Western and the Russian approach to Germany has been the fact that the Russians have a plan, whereas the democracies have none. The Russian plan is to establish communism in Germany by several stages. It should be obvious that the only way to counteract this plan is to have another plan. You cannot beat a plan without having one yourself. But if there is a positive, constructive American plan for Germany, it must be one of our best kept secrets. The Russian plan involved from the very beginning the permitting of certain types of political activities and parties, the latter to be swallowed up ultimately by the Communist Party. The American "plan" banned all political activities, including anti-nazi activities. This was hastily revised only after the parties in the Russian zone had consolidated themselves. The Russian plan soon led to the establishment of a zonal German administration. The American "plan" is operating with three "states" in the American zone, one of which, North

Baden-Wuerttemberg—is a historical and political monstrosity brought into existence merely by the demarcation line between the American and the French zones, while another, Greater Hesse, has been set up without the consent of the people. The American military government was more respectful toward the modern state of Bavaria, a nineteenth-century creation of Napoleon I, the birthplace of nazism. It is at present administered by Dr. Hoegner, an appointee of the military government, who does not represent the majority of the Bavarian people. The result of these actions is that there is no such thing as a homogeneous American zone, and there are few connections between Bavarian members of the Christian Democratic Union and those in Greater Hesse. In other words, whereas the Russian plan encourages consolidation of political forces on a large zonal basis, thereby setting the stage for communist infiltration and domination, the American "plan" splits the opponents of communism into sectional groups and makes effective political operation on a larger scale impossible.

RESTORE POLITICAL EXPRESSION

With this we come to the crux of the whole problem. The only way to stem the tendency towards communist control in Germany is the restoration of the political self-expression of the German people on a national level. The American "plan" and the encouragement of separatism by the French—and to a lesser degree by the British—have unintentionally handed the German Communists a powerful propaganda weapon. It is they who now are waving the flag of German unity. They point glowingly to the revival of anachronistic sectionalism in the western zone. If now Western democracy becomes identified in the German mind with advocacy of extreme federalism, it stands very little chance of finding mass support among the German people. This is precisely what the communist propaganda-planners wanted to happen. While fellow-travelers in this country sent up, at the command of Moscow, a cry for the most severe punishment of all Germans, Mr. Pieck, the German Communist who had been in exile in Moscow, was already issuing invitations to small-time nazis to join the German Communist Party. Thus, both in the matter of German unity and of de-nazification, the Communists seemed to be less severe than the democracies.

If we allow the situation to drift along these lines much farther, it may be beyond repair. We must take into account the time factor. The longer we permit the Russians to consolidate their position through better food rations and political coordination in their zone, while we are still operating on a strictly sectional basis, the more difficult will it be for the Social Democrats to maintain their position against the constant attacks and propaganda of the Communists, even in the western zone of Germany. If the Social Democrats in the western zone are weakened substantially as a result of these pressures, the prestige of the Western Powers will suffer a serious blow.

Such a tragic outcome would have repercussions all over the world. We simply cannot allow this to happen. We cannot prevent it by backing up hopeless positions and by continuing to muddle through on a day-to-day basis of snap decisions. Unless we have the courage to view the German problem as a whole and to give the German people an opportunity of participating actively in a carefully planned process of economic and political reconstruction, we may drive them unwittingly to the side which has a plan now, even if it is not a good one. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the German people want genuine democracy. We cannot fail them now.

HEALTH INSURANCE

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

LAST WEEK we pointed out that expanded governmental aid for hospitals, public-health services, maternal- and child-health services and the care of needy persons, is now necessary if even minimum health facilities are to be made available to millions of our medically underprivileged citizens. For that reason few question the desirability of wider Federal participation in the nationwide effort to improve and expand hospital and health facilities. Non-governmental, non-profit hospitals and health agencies only ask assurance that their tried voluntary programs will not be swallowed up in a growing government system, and that they will not be discriminated against in distribution of financial aid.

Such expanded Federal aid is the objective of the Hospital Survey and Construction (Hill-Burton) Bill and of Title I of the National Health (Wagner-Murray-Dingell) Bill introduced last November 19. Of these the first, (S. 191), passed the Senate on December 11, while the latter, (S. 1606), recently came up for Committee hearings.

DEBATABLE FEATURES

The aims and objectives of Title II of S. 1606, however, do not meet with the same general approval as do the other parts of the proposed legislation. Under this Title our national program would include prepaid personal health benefits financed from a national insurance fund to which contributions from those covered by social security would be obligatory. The same portion of the bill also provides for grants to educational and professional and research projects concerned with health, but this particular provision need not concern us since few question its desirability. Health insurance, made obligatory by government, remains the debatable part of the national health program as conceived in S. 1606, just as it was in S. 1050, the original Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill of the present Congress.

Cash for services would be many a doctor's ideal. Since few people, however, have the necessary bank accounts, and since the risk element in health obtrudes itself so prominently, such an ideal must remain unachieved so far as the general public is concerned. To accept frankly this economic fact clears the air for intelligent discussion.

Financing of medical costs through loans is no satisfactory solution, either. It exposes the one in need of care to the temptation of putting off attention as long as possible, and makes him pay interest on his medical bills. Should he fortunately escape the loan shark, he still finds future income mortgaged by the loan.

Prepayment plans, applying the pooled-risk principle fundamental to all insurance, are the most satisfactory and most economical methods of meeting medical costs. This accounts for their popularity in recent years. As medical costs have grown, so has public interest in the plans. While some members of the medical profession remain unfriendly to the development, most have come to recognize the advantage both to themselves and the patient. Yet whatever the few may say about supposed harm to doctor-patient relationships, prepayment of medical costs through insurance is here to stay—and to grow.

Once they learn what health insurance means, normal people much prefer it to accumulation of debts for health service, and they prefer it to public assistance, to public clinics, to needs-tests, to the embarrassment of asking for credit or outright charity, or to any of the other devices which have become traditional because the cost of health

was beyond the means of the average man. Prepayment of medical costs through systematic contributions, supplemented if necessary by grants of public funds, is the way of bringing minimum health care to all the social community's members, *by right*. This line of argument in itself, of course, only proves the need of practically universal prepayment of medical costs through insurance. Whether the prepayment plan should be compulsory or voluntary is yet another question. It aids discussion, however, to recognize at the outset that insurance is the only feasible solution.

COMPULSORY INSURANCE

Among the possible prepayment plans, compulsory public insurance, akin to the other types of social insurance, is by far the most comprehensive and effective. Its economic and social effectiveness is, however, conditioned by other considerations.

First, there is the fact that the obligation to take reasonable care of health and not be a burden upon the community devolves first upon the individual and his family, and only secondarily upon society. Moralists concur with sound democratic thinkers in upholding the principle that a service such as health insurance should not be taken over generally by government so long as the great majority of citizens can make provision through private organizations.

The second consideration is the fact that public health insurance, on a practically universal scale, might become the tool of those who actually think medicine in all its ramifications should be a public institution, so that private practice and non-governmental hospital service would be merely tolerated. Those who think thus regard medicine as primarily a public function, just as they conceive of education when they insist on giving the public school primary or possibly unique place. In fact, by some the comparison is frankly admitted.

It would be an injustice, however, to identify proponents of social insurance for health with the relatively few advocates of a complete government monopoly over medicine. The two things are distinct and separable, despite the confusion of thought—and at times dishonesty—of those who invoke the vague term "socialized medicine" whenever government intervention in the medical field is discussed.

The common good may well demand the establishment of compulsory health insurance and still not warrant direct government control of medicine. One can accept the first and yet disapprove of the second. Whether it is a wise move to accept social insurance for health at the present time seems to be a matter of political judgment, dependent on a wide variety of social and economic considerations. Other countries have in the past done so successfully. Needless to say, private medical and other interested groups should not be allowed to have the final say, any more than private labor leaders or corporations can be permitted to dictate on matters of morally justifiable labor policy and legislation.

VOLUNTARY INSURANCE

Nonetheless, the possibilities of voluntary prepayment plans deserve careful consideration. While there is not space here for a full discussion of the subject, several points merit attention. Last summer *The Index*, a publication of the New York Trust Company, summed up the alternative plans to social insurance under two headings:

The first, the group health association, provides for the employment of a certain number of doctors and re-sells their services to the public on a prepayment basis. Under this arrangement, known as the "vendor system," the doctor actually works for a corporation and the

patient buys a product which that corporation sells.

A second type of prepayment plan is the voluntary-indemnity insurance principle which does not sell the doctor's services but furnishes the patient funds with which he can pay his medical bills. This plan enables the patient to go as usual to his own personal physician, but the bill is sent to the office of the indemnity corporation. . . . Amounts in excess of the sum charged by the physician are paid by the patient.

Since voluntary group health plans have run into medical opposition from the beginning, and continue to do so, their wide extension cannot be looked for until a change in attitude comes about. "The medical profession generally has refused to approve of the group health method because the doctor's services are sold by a third party, thus destroying the age-old relationship of physician and patient." While this does not represent the viewpoint of all doctors—witness the success of the Kaiser-Permanente health plan and similar systems—it is still sufficiently common to make the outlook rather gloomy. The same holds for the types of group practice involving close collaboration of hospitals and physicians.

The indemnity-insurance principle, however, after initial opposition, has met with more approval from medical men and hospital administrators. Basically, a purely voluntary system along such lines differs only as regards compulsion, and perhaps the method of collecting premiums, from governmental social insurance. Voluntary health insurance, on the indemnity principle, has the following advantages: 1) it preserves to a great extent the opportunity for local initiative and inventiveness in making health plans; 2) it leaves with the individual and the family greater responsibility for managing their budget and affairs; 3) it invites competition. On the negative side: 1) it tends to be more expensive, due to incomplete coverage and the greater prevalence of the profit motive; 2) it does not affect those who cannot or will not join, thus leaving a large share of medical costs to be financed in haphazard fashion or out of charitable and public-assistance funds; 3) it means that non-members of voluntary-insurance plans will turn more and more to governmentally provided health services, since today they can no longer meet the costs of proper medical care themselves.

The extent to which voluntary-insurance plans, either of the group practice and hospitalization type or of the simple indemnity type, have grown, is most enlightening. Complete figures are not available, especially on the private-insurance company plans, since there is duplication of policies by the same people in many cases. Under such commercial plans, it is estimated that 8 million are insured, on an indemnity basis, for hospital costs. Of these about 6 million also have some insurance against surgical costs. Under the very popular hospitalization plans, some 21 million are insured, 19 million under Blue Cross, the rest under other systems.

Insurance for physicians' services may be with or without hospitalization benefits. Due to lack of interest among doctors, this type of insurance has been slow to develop. The total number of persons covered is today about 5,300,000. Of these one and a half million are covered under various industrial plans. Medical Society plans in Washington and Oregon cover 954,000; in Michigan 770,000, and in other States 863,000. Private group clinic plans cover 406,000; consumer-cooperative plans 35,000; governmental plans 113,000 and Farm Security Administration plans 319,000. While the total is large, it still leaves millions—who generally need help most—unaccounted for. Moreover, the plans mentioned often give anything but full coverage. The real test of the voluntary-insurance plans must be their ability to extend adequate coverage to all who need it. Whether they can do this is the point in dispute.

THE WELCOME given to the leader of the Polish Underground Army, while it may not have been gratifying to Andrei A. Gromyko, or to Oscar J. Lange, Ambassador of the Polish Provisional Government, was a long-overdue tribute to a hero whose personal valor and tragedy are part and parcel of the valor and tragedy of Poland itself. We hope that the Polish people will understand from these tokens that, despite appearances to the contrary, America has not forgotten and is not forgetting that this country owes them not only sympathy but active support in creating a new and free nation.

Who can ever forget the dramatic Warsaw uprising of August, 1944? For sixty-three days the Polish Underground Army, commanded by General Thaddeus Bor-Komorowski, fought the Germans, hoping each day that the Red Army outside the city would attack from the rear. It is not necessary to discuss here why the Red Army permitted the army within the city to bleed to death nor why it denied to British and American planes facilities for aiding the beleaguered heroes. History will deliver its inexorable judgment in time. Warsaw fell again to the Germans. It is cause for special gratification that General Bor was rescued from a German prisoner-of-war camp by American soldiers.

But it is not enough to have saved the leader of a cause that was lost. The United States shares part of the blame for the tragedy that has befallen Poland. We agreed at Yalta, over the desperate protests of the London government-in-exile, to the Russian demands for half of its pre-war territory. While this action was frankly a bowing to an accomplished fact—if that affords any consolation—it was not made without some conditions whose importance is becoming more and more pertinent each day. America's national honor demands that this Government bend every effort to see that these conditions are fulfilled. Shall we add to our shame by failing through our own neglect to implement the few saving provisions of the Yalta agreement?

The present provisional government, despite its almost total orientation to the Kremlin, is pledged by the terms of the Crimean Conference, and again at Potsdam, to "free and unfettered elections" to take place "as soon as possible" and on the basis of "universal suffrage and secret ballot." In these elections "all democratic and anti-nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates."

Are these pledges in a fair way to being kept by the regime we have recognized? Facts emphasized during the visit of General Bor to this country reveal that there is no earthly reason why the elections are being delayed until the fall, except that the regime needs that much time to liquidate all possible opposition. Authentic reports state that, with the help of the NKVD, the Polish Security Police, headed by one Radkiewicz, a Russified Pole who spent all his life in the Soviet Union, are staging a systematic persecution of the followers of Stanislaus Mikolajczyk. His key men of the Polish Peasant Party are being hunted down with such thoroughness and ferocity that by the time the fall elections come around, the provisions of the Yalta Agreement will have ceased to mean anything.

For that reason we are warned against putting too much credence in the meaning of any election to take place in Poland as long as the Red Army occupies not only the land, but also the key positions of the Polish Army and Security Police.

At the time of the Yalta Agreement it was pointed out that, in return for real concrete gains, the Soviet Union had

given only paper concessions in the form of a pledge of free elections. The United States has never considered free elections and representative government as aims not worth regarding as substantial. The directors of our foreign policy in Washington could make no greater mistake before the American people than to fail to make very clear that this Government is doing its best towards assuring to Poland the right to express its own mind in democratic processes. General Bor's visit has put the question up to us.

BEFRIENDING THE JEWS

THE REPORT FROM ROME in the early part of May to the effect that documentary proof has been found that official Italian fascist circles followed, through the years of their unhappy bondage to nazism, a persistent policy of evading and checkmating the German program for Jewish persecution, suggests two pertinent thoughts.

The first thought to rise is that here again we are shown that the whole story of under-cover resistance to nazism has only begun to be told. The Communists made early capital of their part in the resistance movement; non-communist groups were more interested in doing than in exploiting their deeds, but when the record is complete it will be overwhelmingly a statement that the Communists' contribution to freedom was never predominant or representative.

In this connection it seems good to remark that proofs of the resistance of German Catholics, clerical and lay, to nazism are appearing in ever-growing volume. The famous Herder publishing house in Munich has already released two volumes of case histories of resistance; a third comes from a Zurich publisher. In this wise will history give the answer to the irresponsible wiseacres who had such a field day not long ago in shouting that there were no good Germans.

A further thought springs from a comment made by the correspondent in the *New York Times* (May 22) when reporting this evidence of Italian sympathy and aid for the Jews. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that the files reflect greatly the essential tolerance and kindness of the Italian people." That is undoubtedly true, but it would seem that more is reflected, particularly if we set against that remark the correspondent's further observation that "Italy has not now and never has had a real 'Jewish problem.' . . . Italians do not generally think in terms of Jews as such, but as Italians who happen not to be Roman Catholics."

This second quotation is the key. What the Italian treatment of the Jews reflects is more than a mere natural tolerance and kindness; it reflects the centuries of Catholic culture which give the motive power to that kindness. It reflects the fact that the Italians were but following the lead of their spiritual head, the Pope, who has spoken so openly against anti-Semitism and worked so untiringly for the Jews that he has received the public and heartfelt thanks of Jewish leaders. It reflects the fact that in a Catholic country anti-Semitism has not the ghost of a show; it may be officially imposed on a Catholic people by un-Christian leaders—it cannot take root.

This fact will be proved, too, by the complete history of the resistance movement. We know already of heroic bishops like Archbishop (now Cardinal) Saliège of Toulouse, who defied the Nazis to their teeth in the matter of protecting Jews; we have read of priests and people hiding their Jewish

neighbors and smuggling them out to safety. But we have not yet heard the whole story. When that comes out, it will be a total confirmation of the increasingly clear fact that it was precisely the Christian instincts of Europe which saved, as far as they could under demoniacal pressure, the Jews of that continent from extinction.

A PROTESTANT PROBLEM

THE QUESTION of a merger between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. has come up again, as it has each year for the last eight years or so. But it gets hardly any closer to solution.

Seven regional conferences being held this month by Episcopal clergymen are debating the issue. They are also debating each other. One group feels the "recent and vociferous appeals for unity are now irrelevant and degrading to both communions." Another group feels that not to heed these appeals is a tragic betrayal of a common cause. A spokesman of this latter group asserted that the whole affair "looks something like a jurisdictional strike." For religious groups to be kept apart by reasons of differences over church order is, to him, equivalent to saying: "You cannot work in this shop if you do not have the right union card."

In contrast, other leading Protestant Episcopal theologians view the issue more profoundly. They point out that there are even more serious differences between the communions than the differences which concern church order (whether the episcopal order is essential to the Christian Church, or whether the Church should simply be organized under presbyters). They maintain that there are differences in belief and practice—especially in the matter of the sacraments—so radical as to impair any possibility of organic union.

The dispute is not one into which a Catholic could tactfully enter. But it does serve to highlight the perplexity in which serious Protestant thinkers are today involved, as they contemplate the problem of sectarianism. Few, if any Protestant "churches" today would be prepared to deny to other "churches" equal status with themselves as parts of the one so-called ecumenical church of Christ. In view of this fact, the question put by Charles Clayton Morrison, in his recent brilliant series of articles in the *Christian Century*, is highly pertinent: "What good reason can my denomination give for persisting in an ecclesiastical separation from yours, when it acknowledges that yours is a genuine part of the one church of Christ?" The question demands an answer all the more imperatively in view of the fact, now increasingly admitted by many Protestants, that sectarianism, and the "undisciplined freedom of dissent" from which it springs, are making Protestantism ineffective. "The modern mind," says Morrison, "does not regard our sectarianism with mere indifference; it holds it in contempt."

On the other hand, a Catholic would be natively more sympathetic with the stand taken by the conservative Protestant Episcopalians, to whom differences in creed, ritual and church order are real differences that have to be argued out to a real conclusion, and not "transcended" by some sort of "formula" that would express the convictions of neither side. A Catholic today would feel, as Newman felt in his day, that any witness to a fixed creed and to a definite church-structure, is a value in a world of formless, relativistic thinking.

LAST CHANCE FOR INDIA

THE OUTLOOK for India was dismal when, on May 12, the Anglo-Indian Conference at Simla foundered on the rocks of Moslem and Hindu intransigence. Many observers accepted the Simla catastrophe as the ominous prelude to civil war and anarchy, aggravated by famine in India, with predictions of dire results to follow throughout the Far and Middle East.

Then, on May 16, Mr. Clement Attlee brought to Parliament a White Paper containing the British plan for liquidating its own powers in India, and proposing a method by which India could achieve a free and united nation. The White Paper does not solve India's problem. Far from it. The days are still full of peril and the future uncertain. The real merit of the White Paper lies in this: that by its clear and irrefutable presentation of the only "middle way," it places the responsibility of its rejection squarely on the shoulders of a few Indian leaders.

The impasse at Simla had come about chiefly over the issue of Pakistan vs. a United India. The leader of the Moslem League, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, was immovable in demanding complete Moslem autonomy for the six Northern Provinces in which most of India's 100,000,000 Moslems reside. Without an autonomous Pakistan, Jinnah maintained, the religious, cultural and economic interests of the Moslems would not be secure against the Hindu majority. To Jinnah the Congress Party's counter-proposal of Provincial autonomy within a central government of limited powers was unsatisfactory.

The solution offered by the White Paper rejects Pakistan with a series of political, economic and military arguments that will be difficult to refute. While it sets up a central government for a unified India, it recognizes the "communal problem" by providing sufficient safeguards for Moslem interests. The central government's power would be constitutionally limited to foreign affairs, defense and communications; the executive and legislature of the central government would be chosen by proportional representation from all States and Provinces; on all subjects affecting common Hindu and Moslem interests a majority of both parties in the legislature would be necessary to carry a bill; Provinces and States would be free to form blocs and groups with their own executive and legislature to handle the common problems they freely designate; at ten-year intervals any Province within the groups, as within the Union Government itself, could call for reconsideration of any phase of the constitution.

Should India accept the British proposal, the White Paper provides for an interim government to guide the nation until the constitution is drawn up and accepted by the people. The interim government, while it is to be composed entirely of Indians, would be responsible to the British Viceroy.

The reception accorded the White Paper in India has been rather friendly than otherwise. The chief objection of the Congress Party is to British sovereignty in the interim government and to the continued presence of British troops in India. The principal Moslem fear is that in a constituent assembly the Hindu majority might destroy the safeguards of minority interests.

A definitive reply to the White Paper is expected from the Moslem League some time after June 3, and from the Congress Party about June 9. It will mean tragedy for India if responsible Indian leaders reject this fair—and probably final—attempt at compromise.

LITERATURE AND ART

SECOND CRITICAL BATTLE

HAROLD C. GARDINER

THE TIME HAS COME to submit a second report on the battle of the critics. The deploying of the forces into position was detailed somewhat in an earlier article (cf. *Battle of the Critics Is Shaping Up*, AMERICA, Nov. 10, 1945), and I imagine that since then those interested in the American literary scene may have suspected that I was reporting a "phony" war. But oh, not so! There was, to be sure, a period of little more than sullen glowering between the opposing camps, but now the chatter of the guns has opened and it looks as though we are in for a real set-to.

As in the earlier aligning of the battle-front, here the high brass, so to speak, is embodied in the persons of J. Donald Adams and James T. Farrell. Mr. Farrell recently published a book, apparently the first of too many which will follow the fate and fortunes of his hero, after whom the volume is entitled *Bernard Clare*. I do not intend to review the book here or elsewhere, for it is just the same old story that we had in *Studs Lonigan* and in the *Danny O'Neill* series. There is no advance, no change, as far as I can see, either in the story or in the technique. Mr. Adams did not review the book, either, but in his column, "Speaking of Books," in the May 26 *New York Times*, he went out of his way to criticize one aspect of F. O. Matthiessen's review, wherein that critic, lamenting "the lean season of fiction" through which we are now passing, went on to say that Farrell's "continued dedication to naturalism is one of the few signs of vitality."

Mr. Adams felt constrained to deny that naturalism in literature is a sign of vitality. Mr. Farrell is not going to like this attack at all, and we may expect a rejoinder of bone-crushing weight in the near future, for Mr. Farrell is not one to keep silence, dignified or otherwise, when one of his detested "Philistines" chides him or his school.

Farrell, however, will really have to call up his reserves, if he is to repel this attack, for Adams got in some very telling thrusts. Taking Mr. Matthiessen's admission, for example, that in each successive handling of his material, Farrell "has risked relapse into a repeated and thereby mechanical formula," Adams contended that "that is not only the risk but the certainty encountered by any writer who relies on the naturalistic method. It is a dead-end approach to fiction because it leaves out too much. Paradoxically, it also includes too much. The poverty of its attitude results in too great reliance upon factual incident."

He furthered this contention by quoting from Zola, commonly regarded as the father of naturalism in fiction, who declared that the way to write fiction was simply to "take the life study of a person or a group of persons, whose actions are faithfully depicted. The work becomes a report, nothing more; it has but the merit of exact observation, of more or less profound penetration and analysis of the logical connection of facts."

Mr. Adams had more to say about the inadequacies of naturalism in fiction, but the sections I have quoted are sufficient to show the arguments that Farrell will undoubtedly rise to answer. They are enough, too, for me to use to wander on a bit with some reflections of my own on the subject of naturalism, which, by the way, is by no means represented only by Farrell. Dreiser earlier—and consistently

until his last book, *The Bulwark*—was a naturalist; Caldwell and a whole host of younger, lesser known writers have been reared in the same atmosphere; many of the silly bawdy novels of the past year (so many of them, alas, by women) have been naturalistic without the basic honesty which does somewhat justify the work of a Dreiser or a Farrell.

The first thing to be remarked on naturalism in fiction is that, in so far as a writer is utterly naturalistic, he is precisely to that extent an utter bore. This is what makes Farrell even tolerably readable—the fact that he is *not* completely and unswervingly naturalistic. The naturalistic creed, as pointed out above, is that the author merely reports; if he brings, proponents of naturalism would say, anything of his own to the events he details, he is coloring the truth, he is not being honest, he is yielding to prejudice or to partisan viewpoint. Yet Farrell brings plenty of his own to the scene, to the character or environment he is unfolding. He brings his sympathy for the underdog; he brings his attitudes toward society, which are largely attitudes he has gathered from Marx. All these he does not get from his material; they are values, attitudes, pre-judgments which underlie his assertion that he is naturalistic. And it is precisely these un-naturalistic elements that save him from being utterly unreadable.

The same was true of the earlier Dreiser. It was not the naturalistic obsession with the factual for which he will be remembered; it is his stumbling, clumsily expressed, but very truly felt affection for people and their troubles which gives him what claim he has to literary immortality.

Utter naturalism in fiction, then, is in reality an impossibility. And even an approach to it is a crippling influence, for the naturalist, by definition, is so intent on telling the "truth" that in keeping his eyes rigidly staring in that direction, much else escapes his vision. And this "much else" is just as essential to art as is his particular vision of the "truth." For it is simply not true, as Farrell has contended, that truth is enough to make a work of art; factual truth in particular is not enough. An absolutely accurate photograph or painting of a man besotted is not a work of art, not unless some attitude of pity or fear or kindliness or resolve is aroused in the beholder, and any of those attitudes does not come from the factual truth that here is a drunken man, but from values that are outside of, and independent of, this particular fact. It is the truth of the human spirit—in this case human nature's realization that drunkenness is unworthy, demeaning—which gives to the factual truth any significance at all. This awareness of the significance of factual details implies a judgment, and it is precisely this judgment in moral matters that bring us into the realm where we start to talk sensibly about beauty. The naturalist, then, hamstrings himself, because in his narrow pursuit of his "truth" he has no eye for the beauty that lies in the significance of the truth. And it would seem quite obvious that there can be no art without beauty.

Further, the naturalist, in so far as he achieves simon-pure naturalism, is false to the twofold function of literature, which is to entertain *and* impart wisdom or instruction. The naturalist, first, does not entertain, for, as suggested above, the torturous fidelity with which he labors over the factual incident can and inevitably does degenerate into a meaningless cataloging. Second, he does not impart wisdom or instruct, for certainly in literature no less than

in the schools, instruction means a certain completeness or catholicity; to be instructed in the naturalistic "truth" of only the decadence, the difficulties, bewilderment of life, with never a hint that other truths of life's meaning and at least potential nobility are equally significant, is indeed one-sided and inadequate instruction and a very wry wisdom.

I am afraid that Mr. Matthiessen mistakes crudity for vitality. Where Farrell is naturalistic he is crude, and crudity is always dull; where he is vital he is far, far away from naturalism—so far away, indeed, that he is almost sentimental. It may be, as the same reviewer remarks, in comparing Farrell's "vitality" with Waugh's "tired sophistification," that Farrell fights "against all softening corruptions of our thought and taste." But thought and taste can corrupt in other ways than through softening, and I hold, with Mr. Adams, that Farrell and all naturalistic writers, in proportion as they live up to their program, corrupt taste through coarsening it, and thought by depriving it of its function of judging factual truth according to human values and standards.

QUEBEC LETTER

"PIED BEAUTY" is perhaps the phrase that would best describe the second last presentation of *Les Compagnons de St. Laurent* this spring. Settings and costumes were designed by the well-known French-Canadian artist, Alfred Pelland, and executed by Strasbourg.

An austere rectangular backdrop was the frame for a succession of weird décors in which everything but the impossible was eschewed. Pelland's city was an arrangement of dismembered buildings, airy towers that scorned foundations, autonomous windows that made light of walls, a collapsed and disappointed staircase advancing tenaciously on the horizontal plane. For a garden scene, the frame was divided into strata, a green one for the grass (above) and a blue one for the sky (below). Across this inverted cosmos there whirled a variegated blizzard composed of detached flower-and-insect elements: wings, petals, stamens and antennae, with spirals of disembodied movement suggesting wind. Up and down the bare boards of the stage before it, strutted, paraded, paced, piroetted, a troop of piebald actors, cloven in twain from head to heel by cloth of disparate colors. The dichotomy extended even to their make-up, for if one side of the face was white, the other would be amethyst or lemon or absinthe, a line of jointure appearing at the nose.

The trick was not visibly exploited to indicate diversity of mood, or tendencies to schizophrenia. Characters did not turn their pink-and-white side to the audience when they smiled, the green when they were jealous. The lively visages twinkled indiscriminately to and fro, darted apart on private errands, or kaleidoscoped together for conversation.

Against this adventurous background the supple, delicate acting of *Les Compagnons* appeared demure. Audiences approved the settings, applauded the romantic passages of the play, apparently found the humor a little thin. The play, it might be well to add, was a comedy by W. Shakespeare called *La Nuit des Rois (Twelfth Night)*. So easy and so sure was the interpretation that the fantasy seemed but slightly enhanced by the fact that all the dialog was in French. *Continuez les Compagnons!* As the Duke of Orsino so well observed in his famous opening line "*Si la musique est l'aliment de l'amour, jouez toujours.*"

The younger pupils of College St. Boniface, St. Boniface,

Manitoba, were recently asked for their opinions on various standard schoolboy authors. Of the Swedish Jesuit, Jon Svensson, one unsuspecting reader opined: "He must have been, one feels, a Catholic who practised his religion." Opinion was divided as to Jules Verne and la Comtesse de Ségur, but perhaps no lad of his own race ever paid the beloved Father Finn so delicate a compliment, as the little far-Western French-Canadian boy who wrote: "*J'aime . . . ce poète.*"

Catholic sociologists are beginning to admit that the annual sessions of Montreal's "ambulatory university," *Les Semaines Sociales*, are an event of pan-American importance. Last year being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University's foundation, a congratulatory letter was addressed to the president, Père Joseph Archambault by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII. The subject of discussion, suggested by a veteran member, His Eminence Rodriguez, Cardinal Villeneuve, was *Liberté et Les Libertés*, under which title the lectures have been published in a *compte rendu* of 350 pages. This volume, or any of the twenty-one others in the series, may be had for the price of \$1.50 from the *Ecole Sociale Populaire*.

A useful companion to the above-mentioned series is a thesis just published by the Catholic University of America, *The Social Thought of French Canada as Reflected in the Ecole Sociale Populaire*, by Sister Mary Agnes of Rome Gaudreau.

The anonymous "auteur de La Foi en l'Amour de Dieu," who has signed a half dozen later volumes by simply giving a reference to her first, has been described by one reviewer as the first important spiritual writer Canada has produced since the days of Marie de l'Incarnation. Her chunky volumes, as full of quotations as a pie of cherries, have the sobriety and wealth of doctrine characteristic of another age. They make one think of a latter-day Rodriguez who, with several centuries of additional reading to his credit, can juxtapose, as witnesses to his thesis, the Abbot Paphnutius with the novelist Bourget. *Pour Mieux Servir Dieu* is the title of the latest book of the author's to appear. It is, like its fellows, published in a repellent format, by the Providence Maison Mère. A book for Mistresses of Novices to buy and (we suggest) rebind (\$1.25).

And for those who wish to understand what part Our Lord's precursor has had in preparing the future of French Canada, there is Père Saintonge's interesting life of St. Jean-Baptiste, "*Témoin de la Lumière.*" (Les Editions Lumen. \$1.50.)

PATRICK MARY PLUNKETT

NIGHT PRAYER

Intimate God, whose two hands at my breast
Cowl the heart, curve rib, keep shoulder steady,
And respiration like that by lifeguards pressed
On the half-drowned hold near, each moment ready;
Whose love in glass of cartilage annealed
Binds the odd vertebrae in constellation;
Holds furious light in a shy cornea sealed;
For music cuts in bone a spiral station;

Who cupped in skull the rich pomegranate brain
Each cell with built-in ship, cornice, or ocean,
Or man (men within men), tunnel or train,
And then set all that double world in motion—

This twin of water and fire hold while we sleep,
More scattering far than stars, harder to keep.

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BOOKS

CYNICISM VERSUS SINCERITY

THEN AND Now. By Somerset Maugham. Doubleday and Co. \$2.50

For ONE SWEET GRAPE. By Kate O'Brien. Doubleday and Co. \$2.75

BRACKETING THESE TWO TOGETHER is quite an obvious and, at the same time, misleading bit of mechanics. It is obvious because there is a surface similarity between them: both are set in a medieval scene, Maugham's in the Italy of Machiavelli, O'Brien's in the Spain of Philip II; and both have, on the surface at least, illicit love affairs as their subject-matter.

But there the likeness ceases and wide divergences begin; it would be hard to find two novels, each by a prominent and competent workman, which differ so radically in the treatment of that theme. Maugham's book, be it said flatly, is cynical, worldly and verges on an atmosphere of parlor sniggering, if not onto that of the smoking-car guffaw. It is quite true that the author has chosen a "hero," about whom it is difficult to write in any other vein, but one cannot avoid the impression that the character has the author's amused toleration, if not rather envious admiration. That, I hold, is a betrayal of the function, even of a story-teller, as Mr. Maugham is fond of calling himself, for it throws sympathy on the side of the unlovely.

The story is slight. Maugham began to think about how Machiavelli might have come to write his play, *Mandragola*, and conceived the idea that it must be autobiographical. So, we have here the imagined experience. On a mission for his beloved Florence to Imola, in the territories of Caesar Borgia, Machiavelli conceives a passion for the wife of a respectable, dull merchant of that town. Chapter after chapter retails his machinations to bring off a liaison, mainly through the ministry of his young companion Piero. The dénouement comes when Piero, through the secret wiles of Borgia, takes advantage of the situation he was presumably building up for his master.

That is all there is to it. There is a great deal of historical background thrown in, a fair outlining of the turbulent politics of the day, one venal monk who connives at pandering, and other unlovely characters, clerical and lay. It must be said that Maugham is still a master of the sophisticated touch, and that his main character comes alive as a cheaply unscrupulous cynic. One reviewer has called the book a "gay pattern of intrigue." Sophisticated amusement over seduction, even in literature, is hardly gaiety.

The O'Brien book, on the other hand, is a deeply serious work. She has been intrigued by "the curious external story" of Ana de Mendoza and Philip II of Spain. She warns in her Foreword that hers is not an historical novel; she calls it an "invention." This, she feels, might be an explanation of how Philip imprisoned to her death a woman for whom he had a deep, sincere affection, even if he only imagined he was in love with her. He did it, the story here goes, because she had taken to herself a-lover, Philip's most trusted Minister of State. Hurt by this prick to his vanity, and working under a flimsy pretext of legality on the charge that she and her paramour had conspired to murder (though he himself had ordered it), he cut himself off from the one person who had been truly his understanding friend.

Beneath this simple plot lies a great deal that commands the reader's interest and admiration. The character of Philip is a marvelously well-done fictional creation (I am not pretending to say whether or not the historical Philip was its counterpart). He is kind, pious, a born temporizer, tortured by vanity, obsessed with the divinity of his kingship. Ana is a vivid soul, proud, passionately attached to liberty. The most penetrating passages in the book have to do with her search for repentance; she cannot for a long time resolve the paradox of being truly sorry for her sins and still recalling the pleasures they brought her. It is through her friend, the Cardinal, that she is finally, patiently, gently brought to "make her soul" and die her tragic death in peace.

There are tension and struggle in this novel. It is not a strident conflict; it is the strain of muscles locked in a spiritual wrestling that gives the illusion of frozen immobility.

There is no cheap sophistication here, no tittering at sin. There is confusion of soul, but always a dim groping toward, and final achievement of, the love of God.

Miss O'Brien is here a true novelist, coming to grips with human nature in all its weakness and strength; Mr. Maugham, despite his talents, is but a pinchbeck raconteur.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

NEBULOUS PERSONAL IMMORTALITY

PEACE OF MIND. By Joshua Loth Liebman. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50

AN INNER BALANCE of warring tendencies and resilience in taking the "pummelings of fate" is the peace of mind the author conceives. The chief obstacle to peace is man's hatred of and cruelty to himself. And this Dr. Liebman traces to that falsetto of conscience—the Freudian Super-ego. This inner peace is threatened by fears and anxieties and Dr. Liebman shows true psychological insight in the treatment of fears. Much attention is devoted to fearful attitudes towards death, and I find Liebman's guidance a halting one because of his nebulous ideas on personal immortality. Survival in the race hardly awakens hope, which alone can give us courage to face death with peace.

While intended for the general public, the book addresses a special appeal to the clergy to avail themselves of the advantages offered by Freudian psychology and psychiatry. Liebman would not jettison religion in favor of psychiatry, but he believes that Christianity at least must re-examine itself in the light of the new revelations of Freud. The facts of clinical psychology—including the facts that Freud brought to light—can and should help the priest in his pastoral work, just as they help the ordinary medical practitioner. But an uncritical acceptance of Freud blinds even a psychiatrist and does much to harm souls. It is interesting in this connection to note Dr. Liebman's reaction to the sacrament of penance. The only value he sees in it lies in the examination of conscience. But lacking the actual experience of the sacrament, he misses completely its dynamic effect: the remission of sin and consequent release from the burden of guilt. Psychiatry in general has generously acknowledged the benefits, but Dr. Liebman believes them to be superficial.

The author is very hard on Christianity, or "Western religion," as he sometimes calls it. His blanket condemnations are a bit hard to understand in view of the laudable efforts that some Jews are making to promote tolerance. Tolerance is reciprocal. And what are some of the charges he makes?

First of all, Christianity has "choked" man's emotions. Paul makes "desire the equivalent of a sin of commission." Christianity is a religion that enjoins repression and, by its insistence on original sin, gives man a kind of inferiority complex and abets the Super-ego. It is religion at the child level and pre-psychological, presumably because it antedates that *caesura* in human history, the birth of Freud.

Christianity is charged with "choking" emotions. Yet, toward the end of the book, the "Orthodox Church," as opposed to liberals, is accused of being over-emotional. Christianity enjoins repression with abnormal or neurotic consequences. Yet, later on, Dr. Liebman makes the needed distinction between repression and renunciation for a high ideal. And there he does not add that the Church always made that distinction. The Church forbids man to indulge or entertain sinful desires, and she does so on the two psychological grounds that desire precipitates action and, when indulged in, results in guilt. If I understand Dr. Liebman correctly, he holds a positivistic morality, which is created by society. But in that case there is no real moral obligation either in regard to desire or deed. As for the harmful repercussions, Dr. Liebman himself admits that "in spite of all attempts to swing off the orbit into eccentric and erratic courses, most of us develop a discriminating, serviceable and non-neurotic sense of right and wrong."

The cogency of some of Dr. Liebman's arguments is difficult to assess. Thus he states that the inadequacy of the classic religious approach to the problem of evil is amply demonstrated in the "spread of mental illness throughout the

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WESTMINSTER, MARYLAND

Western world, the prevalent mood of insecurity, marital conflict, personal depression, not to mention wars and mass murders." I wonder if Dr. Liebman ever studied the anthropological data on pre-Christian religion? And is it logical to attribute these effects to classic religions when so many millions of moderns have abandoned religion? Would it not be more correct, in view of the coincidence of this general apostasy and these effects, to attribute them precisely to lack of religion, as indeed Jung does attribute psychogenic disorders?

Quite consistently with his thesis that Christianity has signally failed, Dr. Liebman pleads for a new religion for Western democratic man, for a new concept of God. But I wonder if some of his wise characterizations of the atheist's caricatures of God do not apply to his reformed idea of the God of Ages? Like many another man, Dr. Liebman is not satisfied with man's dependency on God; just as he cannot reconcile God's omnipotence with the problem of evil. Man must outgrow his childish notion of God as a kind of "cosmic valet," must learn to depend on the department of agriculture for irrigation rather than pray for rain. Western man, democratic man, insists on being "indispensable to God," on being an "independent partner" of God rather than a servant adopted as a son and heir by grace. Liebman thinks Freud—at his Nietzschean best, one might add—taught us to slough off our childish notions of dependence on God and to shoulder our own burdens. But Dr. Liebman's common sense induces him to salvage at least the idea of partnership with God. But does he emancipate himself from the childish hybris of Freud? Both reason and revelation describe God as the Supreme Being and the "Wholly Other," as the Lord and Master of all—including man.

If the adult attitude is shown in recognizing and accepting reality as it is and not as we should perhaps like it to be, must not man's dependence be accepted and lived? We can indeed construct new ideas of God, but what is behind them? Isn't the construction of such ideas indulging in the omnipotence of thought, which Freud condemned in theory but practised with a vengeance? Dr. Liebman quotes approvingly the remark of Ring Lardner about the self-confessed self-made man: "whenever I see one, I realize how bad a job he has done." The pertinence of that remark strikes me when I behold the new concept of God by Dr. Liebman. For I realize how far he is from the religion of his fathers.

HUGH J. BIHLER, S. J.

MARE NOSTRUM OF THE WEST

CARIBBEAN: SEA OF THE NEW WORLD. By Germán Arciniegas. Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.75

THE LEARNED AUTHOR of *The Green Continent*, with its selections from Latin-American authors, has now turned his pen to the composition of a racy narrative concerning the Caribbean Sea and its islands, and those historical events—piratical, bellicose and revolutionary—which have characterized this portion of the Western Hemisphere.

There is felicitousness of comparison and exposition in the opening pages where the author points up a similarity: the Mediterranean has been important to Europe and the Eastern Hemisphere from earliest times; the Caribbean and its islands from the very start have been important to the West. Here Columbus made his earliest discoveries; from here the conquistadors sailed for the conquest of the mainland's coasts; through here slipped the prowling sea dogs of the English, the French and the Dutch, sacking towns and bagging limitless loot; from here sailed Ponce de León to discover the fountain of eternal youth; through these waters plowed Quesada and Federmann seeking El Dorado.

Then there was a Negro revolution and a Negro republic in Haiti, with the bursting of that bubble of Napoleon, a great American empire. Miranda came to stir revolution against Spain along the shores of the Spanish Main, while time and again the great patriot Bolívar, more often in failure than in success, cut the waters of this sea. Filibusters, too, went to Central America, and half-pirates and men of

doubtful national allegiance like Lafitte sailed on equivocal expeditions. Finally, Ferdinand de Lesseps came to build a Panama canal, and failed.

It will be understood from the above that the Caribbean here is taken in its largest sense, and the story includes the important historical events which took place on or beyond the shores washed by the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. The author, very properly, stops with the beginning of the twentieth century.

At first blush the book might appear superficial and historically unreliable. The very sparkle of some chapter titles might lead scholars, if not the public, to this impression: "The Queen of England and Her Forty Thieves," "The Cockfight," "Cradle Song of the Mississippi," "The Pact Between the Enlightened Cousin and the Playboy Cousin," (known to historians as the "Family Compact" or alliance between the Bourbons of France and Spain, Kings Louis XV of France and Charles III of Spain). But the book, while airy and nimble, is not superficial; it is rich in the accurate recording of historic fact and development.

Germán Arciniegas has read widely and deeply; this book is not fiction or of the "historical novel" type; it is history. The European background is set for the reader and filled out in its true colors; for instance, we are given a picture of the famous Hapsburg, Charles V; of the handsome Bourbon, Louis XV who, possessing everything the world could offer, yet suffered from an eternal and cankerous ennui; of his able and energetic cousin, Charles III of Spain; of the demoralization and corruption of the Spanish court under the weak Charles IV and the narrow and bigoted Ferdinand VII. It is made plain that when the period of Latin-American independence came, Spain had learned nothing and acted accordingly, losing all. Some themes are treated inadequately, such as the Cuban independence, which is dismissed with a few brilliant reflections. It was not, however, the author's intention to write a formal history of all such movements. It is very plain that the flash and brilliance of the book in its English dress are due to the very talented translator, Harriet de Onis.

This book closes with an enthusiastic epilog dedicated to the "liberty of America" as the "hope of the universe." There is a useful bibliography for every chapter, a chronology of events and an index.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

BRADY'S BEND AND OTHER BALLADS. By Martha Keller. Rutgers University Press. \$2.50

THIS IS A BOOK of genuine ballads, ripplingly melodious. In fact, one might conceivably complain of an overdose of melody so constant that it threatens to ripen into monotony. It is almost with relief that one stumbles on a line as awkward as "Great hop-hornbeam's for axes' hafts," which fills one's throat with moss instead of molasses.

Martha Keller is a story teller in the old hearthside tradition, indigenously and ingeniously American. "Quest" illustrates her compressive power; "Mary Kendig" shows her graphic imaginative gift; "Widow" her muted sense of tragedy; "Second Choice" her narrative ability and economy. I confess I do not follow the abracadabra of "Herbs and Simples," but my hackles rise at the mention of the "Mother of God" in such a context. There is a regrettable cynicism, in the Housman vein, in such verses as "Small Choice," "James Buchanan," "Antidote" and especially "Lost Hollow," complete with the apostrophe to Housman's immemorial "Lad." "Lincoln Memorial," which seems heavily indebted to Markham and Sandburg, is still effectively poignant. Ill-suited to the thought is the lilting swing of "Reliquary." "Search for Tomorrow" strikes me as having many of the symptoms of grandeur without the soul. This, though, is a poet able and eminently readable. Edward Shenton's illustrations are notable.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD, Professor of Economics in the Graduate School of Fordham University since 1935, served in the German Ministry of Labor from 1926 until Hitler's accession to power in 1933. Professor Baerwald has written extensively on economics and sociology for leading periodicals in this country.

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THEATRE

AN IVORY TOWER CRUMBLES. The play the Blackfriars chose for their closing production of the season, as mentioned in this space last week, was Robert Anderson's *Come Marching Home*. One thing that is certain in an unpredictable world is that Mr. Anderson's venture in drama will not set said world on fire. Nevertheless, it is a sincere and thoughtful effort which indicates that the author, pardon the cliché, is a playwright of promise.

John Bosworth, the leading character of the story, is a Navy hero who returned from the wars with an almost passionate desire to live a life of ease and contemplation apart from the turmoil of trade and the other pursuits which keep civilians in a perpetual fret. He was all set to retire into an ivory tower, although he called it by a different name. His version of it was a suburban cottage, with a bit of ground around it, where he could putter with writing and growing flowers, while discussing art, neighborhood gossip and St. Thomas Aquinas with his amiable and comely wife. But the world refused to leave him alone in his private Eden. He was persuaded, practically forced, to enter the arena of politics, where he immediately encountered the uglier facts of life. He had been a hero in war, a medal man; in politics his enemies labeled him a heel.

Mr. Anderson's story, obviously, is not too original. Besides, his creative deficiencies, while not numerous, are serious enough to warrant critical attention. He knows how to write character, the basic ingredient of drama, but has not learned how to project his characters effectively. His dialog is so flat that it makes a provocative theme unexciting; and conflict, the dynamic element in drama, is submerged in too much talk. These are really not creative faults, as I suggested at the top of this paragraph, but only show lack of experience and can be written off to the account of immaturity.

And it is important to remember that Mr. Anderson wrote the play in his spare moments while serving in the Navy in the heat of war. The play, in fact, won first prize in the National Theatre Conference contest of 1944 for plays written by service men overseas. It is clear that the author, unlike his leading character, did not intend to retire to an ivory tower after the war was won.

To Mr. Anderson life is a challenge. It is pleasant to live in a dream world of one's own, avoiding social responsibility, leaving it to others to clean up the dirt and abolish the evils of society. But a decent soldier, Mr. Anderson says, will not expect to come marching home to a life of irresponsibility. Such ideas are the life-blood of healthy drama.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

OUR HEARTS WERE GROWING UP. The further adventures in growing up related by Cornelia Otis Skinner and Emily Kimbrough are of an emotional pattern with the earlier recollections, but the film does not lose as much of its comic impact as most sequels do. Of course, it must be approached with nostalgic tolerance, because the structure is loose and anecdotal, taking time out to resuscitate the 1920's in all their F. Scott Fitzgerald foolishness. The girls are in the process of being educated against the distractions of raccoon coats and budding romance when their social life is complicated by the acquisition of an honorary uncle who happens to be commercially opposed to the Volstead Act. William Russell's treatment of the details is prankish, but that is as good a way as any to chronicle the less sinister events of the era. Gail Russell and Diana Lynn continue their excellent characterizations, ably seconded by Brian Donlevy. The picture is good fun for all the family. (Paramount)

WITHOUT RESERVATIONS. This is a specimen of the cross-country school of comedy with the obligatory passages of madcap merriment, but it breaks with tradition in striving for thoughtful laughter much of the time. There is even a serious moment set aside for the statement of the American Ideal. The plot confirms an old suspicion that fiction and fact are not quite identical when a woman author, on her way to Hollywood for the inevitable screening of her book, meets a Marine who appears to bring her hero to life. However, they proceed to disagree on everything until overtaken by a conventionally romantic conclusion. The film glides along in a sophisticated vein, and Mervyn Le Roy's direction is self-conscious only when the matter of defining ideals becomes too serious. Claudette Colbert is convincing in a literate role, with John Wayne and Don DeFore as foils. *Mature* audiences will enjoy this. (RKO)

MADONNA OF THE SEVEN MOONS. By now film audiences should be ready to class schizophrenia with the other simple facts of life, such as nuclear fission and international politics. This British film treatment presents a woman who slips periodically from the respectability of home and motherly concerns to become a stranger to herself and the aide of an underworld rascal. Her weird reversals culminate in a tragedy which is elaborately grim and heightened by the foreign atmosphere. Arthur Crabtree's direction and the playing of Phyllis Calvert, Stewart Granger and Patricia Roc are technical assets, but even *adults* will have to be fond of their morbid diversions to become enthusiastic. (Universal) THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

PARADE

RETIREMENTS COLORED the week's news. . . . After answering seven million questions for years in a railroad information booth, an elderly New Yorker resigned, disclosing he had found the last million questions fatiguing. . . . An Oregon chambermaid, having made 300,000 beds in fifty years, retired. Denouncing a marked deterioration in behavior patterns of hotel guests during the last half-century, she declared the shining of shoes with hotel towels and carrying off of hotel property have reached alarming proportions. . . . In New York, one of the world's oldest burglars went into retirement after being caught by police in a fashionable store after shopping hours. He admitted 728 big-time burglaries in his long and active career. . . . In Massachusetts, a barber with an unusual record completed fifty years of shaving and quit. "During the whole half-century," he revealed, "I never inflicted my views on a customer. Unless he wanted to talk, I worked in silence." . . . As the older generation faded out of active life, the younger one roared in. . . . In Philadelphia, a group of incensed eight-year-old girls wrote to their Congressman: "Dear Congressman: We pay two cents for bubble gum and it is only supposed to be one cent. We think the men of the OPA should take care of that." . . . In Idaho a citizen, seeking increase of his dairy supplies, posted a sign on his restaurant wall: "Will marry any farmer's daughter who owns her own cow and can

churn butter." . . . Efforts to create new jobs for the unemployed were begun. In Florida, an automobile thrill-show advertised for drivers willing to stage head-on collisions in cars speeding at sixty miles an hour. . . . The Northwest saw the launching of a new assault on an old problem. An Oregon farmer announced he had developed a mixture that would thicken the hair of rabbits and make bald human heads hairy.

Modern man, in many ways, has achieved marvels that would appear incredible to the man of long ago. . . . Today's airplanes and radio and radar and hundreds of other advances would leave the man of yesterday breathless with wonderment. . . . In one respect, however, modern man stands just where the man of yesteryear stood. . . . Moderns can't grow hair on bald pates any more than could the ancients. . . . Twentieth-century scientists get just as bald as did the dawn-of-history men. . . . Inebriated by his material progress, the modern sometimes imagines he is a sort of super-something-or-other, capable of managing the world and the universe without God. . . . Perhaps the good Lord keeps this insignificant hair-growing power away from progress-drunk man to cut him down to size; to say to him in effect: "You able to run the world and the universe without me? Why, you can't even grow hair on one bald head!"

JOHN A. TOOMEY

ART

FUTURISM IS A NAME attached to a discarded and no longer effective art and literary movement. This fact, however, does not prevent an objective futurism from continuing as a determining, basic mental attitude among persons of the creative type. In fact, it is one of the characteristics of all artists who, often over-strenuously, seek to be in advance of their fellows.

That this attitude has often led to distortion of artistic values must be admitted, for it makes an end of the visioning, forward-looking approach to the problems of art when, in reality, it is but one of a number of *means*. Futurism, as an end, therefore, usually leads to unbalanced excess and self-imposed esotericism.

Yet it must be remembered that the essence of this futuristic attitude is a strong element in all mechanical, scientific, social, economic and artistic progress. We have only to recall how necessary a valid futurism was to the magnificent achievements in scientific discovery and invention to realize its importance. Only in its objective phases does it lead to effeteness. And in calling attention to the achievements of R. Buckminster Fuller, I am doing so because he has allied a good, American sense of practicality to his futurism.

Certainly, when the first Dymaxiom House of his design appeared in the late 'twenties, few regarded it as more than an entertaining demonstration of a valid idea, one that was not expected to be brought to realization. In this, however, there appeared a lack of understanding of this Yankee inventor and innovator who, fittingly enough, is a collateral descendent of Margaret Fuller. If, at the time, his visionary qualities seemed to dominate his efforts, mixed as they were with a typical American tendency to over-liberal prophesying, there was still in the background his innate sense of a reasonable adjustment and practicality that impelled him towards the production of completed, usable devices. This was exemplified by his Dymaxiom automobile, which appeared in the 'thirties, and the Dymaxiom bathroom, which followed later in that decade. Both were practical developments, even though the automotive world and plumbing manufacturers exhibited a caution towards adopting them usual in industrialists, whose pioneering impulses rarely continue beyond the initial one that brought them financial success.

Now, however, a new Dymaxiom House has appeared under a new type of sponsorship. And that sponsorship is itself of a particularly interesting kind, as the Machinists Union, A.F.L., and the Beach Aircraft Corp., under Fuller's direction, have collaborated in manufacturing the house on a quantity-production basis. As I have seen only the pictures of it as they appeared in a recent issue of *Life*, I cannot of my own knowledge express any opinion on its practicality. I would expect, however, that his association with this trade union and airplane manufacturer, neither of whom could be expected to have visionary qualities that over-balance business sense, rather argues for its practical merits. And I know that is the end Fuller has in view.

Aside from these practical considerations, however, there is the further matter of the esthetic achievement in this redesigned Dymaxiom House. And that achievement is probably more far-reaching, in a basic way, than its designer realizes.

Resultant form is the uniform characteristic of all valid, great historical architectures. The forms we see in them are not *imposed*; they are determined by the essential structure in every case. Medieval architecture is the most complete demonstration of this architectural truth that the past has left to us. The new Dymaxiom House takes on particular architectural importance, therefore, because its form is completely a resultant one, achieved by fresh means around a new, topical construction. It is, therefore and validly, a new form of dwelling, one in which the utilitarian parts have been made to serve in producing a very natural esthetic end.

This particular demonstration of Buckminster Fuller's may not be epoch-making, but I very much suspect that it is. In it he has justified his futurism and successfully exemplified its proper subjection to an end. BARRY BYRNE

CORRESPONDENCE

FARMERS AND CORN

EDITOR: Although I agree with the general theme of the editorial "National Shame" in the May 18 issue of *AMERICA*, I must take exception to the implication that farmers as a class are hoarding grain while the world starves. They are many factors to consider.

For instance, the statistics show many million bushels of corn on hand in Iowa, but the figures do not show that, because of early frost, most of the 1945 crop was fit only for livestock feed. Very little Iowa corn met government specifications under the purchase program. Likewise, the figures on available corn do not show that much of the saleable corn is in the hands of absentee landlords. The renters have sold their corn to pay their bills long ago.

Farming is a long-range business unsuited to sudden changes in program. A factory can make a change in production in weeks or months, but it takes a year to raise a crop, and two years and nine months to raise a calf. Those of us who raise livestock might by a mass liquidation of our stock make more grain available, but the waste that would come from the over-crowding of processors' facilities and the loss of production from our grasslands would mean a reduction rather than a gain in the world's food supply.

Maxwell, Ia.

GERALD JENNETH

TEACHER SHORTAGE

EDITOR: May I add another reason to those listed in *AMERICA* for May 25, why so few young people enroll in teachers' colleges?

In speaking to teachers, both in the Catholic and in the public schools, I have found that discouragement over the home training of the children causes many teachers to wish to go into other work. These same teachers are discouraging other young women from joining the ranks.

Because parents do not insist on obedience and respect for authority, do not exercise proper supervision of the out-of-school activities of their offspring, children are becoming more and more irresponsible to the efforts of the teachers. These are forced to cope with problems that are created by the home, or by the lack of home life—problems with which teachers are unable to grapple effectively.

The teaching profession will not be properly esteemed until parents once more assume their part of the burden of education.

Mission San José, Calif.

Sr. M. LOUISE, O.P.
Community Supervisor

LABOR AND THE ENCYCLICALS

EDITOR: The letter of Mr. Harrison in the issue of May 25 called for editorial comment on at least one important point of doctrine. However, since he refers to a previous letter—by Mr. J. C. Kelleher of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, in the February 23 issue—it should be pointed out that investigation of the latter's statements disclosed three facts:

1. The pastor in Hastings-on-Hudson, indicated as denouncing the CIO, actually helped the CIO men in a local strike at that time.
2. The CIO local there during the strike, though in need, refused help from the Communist Party and the CP-dominated American Labor Party.
3. The unbending attitude of the management involved was of the type that breeds communism.

As for Mr. Harrison's letter, it is surprising to see any Catholic layman claim that Pius XI said "strikes and lockouts are forbidden" by Catholic teaching. This quotation was lifted entirely out of context. Before he began to write, Mr. Harrison could have learned from any reliable Catholic book on morals, ethics or social doctrine that it is, and always has been, against the spirit of Catholic teaching to forbid strikes and lockouts *as such*.

New York, N. Y.

(Rev.) T. J. DARBY

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THE WORD

THERE WERE THREE GREAT FEASTS in the Jewish liturgical calendar, the Passover, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles. On these, all devout Jews went to Jerusalem, the capital of their nation and their religion. The fifty days after Passover were the days of Pentecost, and on the last of them Jerusalem was thronged with worshippers.

After Our Lord's Ascension, which occurred towards the end of these pentecostal days, the disciples returned to the Upper Room where they "with one mind continued steadfastly in prayer with the women and Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and with His brethren" (Acts 1: 14). Contemplating that valiant little band, Saint Bernard sees in them three characteristics. There were magnanimity, open-hearted alertness, the result of faith; longanimity, a patient waiting on the Holy Spirit, deriving from the virtue of hope; and unanimity, a oneness of mind and heart, proceeding from love. They were exiled from the rejoicing all around them; they were the pioneers of the New Dispensation surrounded by the pilgrims of the Old.

The Epistle for the Mass of Pentecost tells us of the wondrous termination of their vigil. The days of Pentecost were drawing to a close: "And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a violent wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as of fire. . . . And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:3, 4). The crowds in the streets also heard the mighty rushing sound as of a whirlwind and they gathered excitedly around the house which was the focus of this marvelous visitation, men from all nations; and to their utter amazement each of them understood in his own tongue the divine message which the apostles proclaimed.

Then Peter, the leader, the first Pope, the Rock on which Christ said He would build His Church (Matt. 16:18) stood forth to address the multitude. But here was a new Peter. Gone was the temerarious fisherman who asked Christ what the reward would be for his meager sacrifice (Matt. 19:27), causing Saint Jerome to exclaim on his overweening brashness; gone was the impetuous doubter who sought permission to walk on the water and began to sink under the weight of his own incredulity (Matt. 14:31); no longer was he the presumptuous counsellor who had drawn from Christ a stern rebuke for his worldly outlook (Mark 8:33). This was not the Peter who slept in Gethsemane, deserted Christ in His hour of need and denied Him in the High Priest's yard. Here was a Pontiff, strong in spirit, authoritative, a teacher of men.

His sermon was brief, bluntly rising to the splendid climax: "Therefore, let all the house of Israel know most assuredly that God has made both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2: 36). Around him stood the other apostles; only a short time before they had huddled with him behind locked doors "for fear of the Jews" (John 20: 19); now they appear as fearless "witnesses" of the Resurrection (Acts 2:32). Deeply impressed, the crowd swayed in around them, asking for guidance; and that day "about three thousand souls" came into the infant Church.

Here indeed was a spectacular example of the power of the Holy Spirit in the transformation of this weak and mercurial Peter into a veritable rock, and his brethren into giants of God. Once again God had followed His immemorial practice of choosing the weak and foolish to confound the wise, and the Holy Spirit gave the increase. For "no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except in the Holy Spirit" (I Cor. 12:3) and it was He who opened and filled the thirsty hearts of the three thousand converts. The account of one of Peter's later sermons ends with the words: "While Peter was still speaking these words, the Holy Spirit came upon all who were listening. . ." (Acts 10:44) and the same divine invasion resulted from Paul's laying on of hands (Acts 19:6).

On this Pentecost and every day the Holy Spirit is abroad ready to fill the hearts of the faithful and enkindle them to divine love. It is for us to imitate the apostles in their magnanimity, longanimity and unanimity, in confidence that, touched by the Holy Spirit, we may likewise imitate, to some degree, their spiritual greatness. WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

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